/14 cont./
487 gradually becoming opaque. The low valley will be only a cor-
484 ridor, an outlet, an appendix, or any other metaphorical equiva-
804 lent that one might wish to apply to it.
823 Consequently, how much is not explained by either the history of the fourteenth century, which shows us the expansion coming from the highlands, or the more recent history, which has reconstituted or these same altitudes, thanks to the conquering
177 afflux of people from the South, new bases of expansion! /15/ In
178 the same way, the true Seksawa life will only keep its accuracy,
804 in a space with its measure and according to its heart, far from

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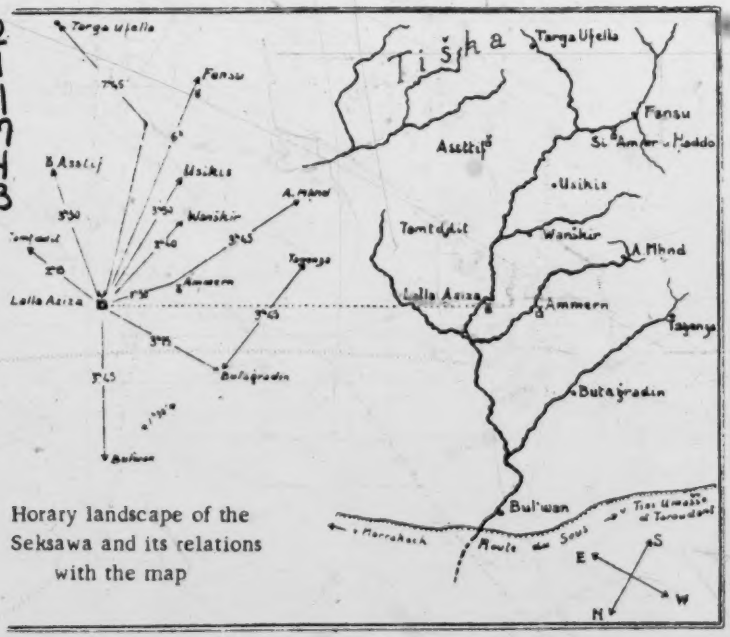

Horary landscape of the Seksawa and its relations with the map

FIG. 3

/15 cont./

177 804 178 the contaminations and meannesses of the plain, on this side of this radius of two to three hours' walk upstream from Lalla Aziza. Everything beyond, that is to say, everything downstream, will be subject to the influence of the powers and agitators from below.

484 804 Thus, zone of adventure, of hesitation, of mixtures. Still farther, in the plain, other ensembles, subject to other measures, can appear: what matters here is the horseman's journey, from bivouac to bivouac. But how this perspective of the horseman, that is to say, in the type, and for five hundred years, of the Arab, removes us from the montagnard world, this world so much more concentrated, more vigorous. One day's /16/ march, and one goes up the valley from end to end. The Idma domain, from the zaouia /Moslem monastery and school/ of Ammern to that of Assttif, covers, along its longest diagonal, five hours. About the same as from Iguntar to the Seksawa: the conquests of Caïd Lmokhtar are also registered at five hours on the diagonal. And scarcely more from Amerdul to the base of the Tichka: all the kingdom of the a. H'adduyws.

World of a density quite Mediterranean.

133 (129) Survey of the Structure of the Country (1)

1. This whole paragraph owes much to J. Dresch, Recherches sur l'évolution du relief dans le massif central du Grand Atlas, le Haouz et le Sous, 1941.

The traveler who, from the heights dominating the Tizi Umachchô, contemplates the panorama North notices that it is divided into three sections of different color: a white country, a red country, a black country.

Light limestones, Jurassic and above all Cretaceous, spread toward the N.-W. the stony causses of the Mtugga. Jurassic likewise, on the W., the long cylinder of the Lemgo. And

/170 cont./

244 The ensemble appears nonetheless as a decline of a former state, which must have known a completely different variety. That is true not only of the fruit trees, but further and especially of what we call "vegetables." The valley of the a. Lh'sen, whose conservation and vitality are striking, keeps a whole gamut of these crops: eggplants, gourds, pepper, tomatoes. The present success [177] that the potato, recently introduced, finds there, as in Idma, is perhaps a sign that this variety is an authentic trait, merely better preserved there than elsewhere. A new phase of progress could bring it back. In any case there is a relationship between the crop variety and the vigor of the group. We perceive there, very much alive, a new trait of these correlations between space, techniques, and the social structure, the delicate firmness of which the populations of the Atlas make us understand.

244 Let us carry on the observation. Market gardening is not at
242 all amenable here to the perspective of gardens. It is a large-scale cultivation whose value in rotation, in the formula turnip on barley, would be efficient if it were not borne on too-restricted areas. The distinction, for each of these crops, between an early kind and a late kind also contributes an element of interest. The eggplant and the tomato give rise to cautious sowings in general near habitations. Flat flagstones or interlacings of pink laurel protect the delicateness of the young sprouts from the beak of the hens and the danger of frosts. Some crops, like that of the gourd, present, according to cantons, instructive diversities. /171/ In the high cantons, it creeps among the stalks of maize. In Idma, it adorns the banks separating the benches. Lower, it grows in special squares. Mint, alone of all the plants of the valley, including fruit trees, knows grafting. It is crossed with the
244 "origanum," flayo. One would not know how to carry away an optimistic conclusion from only such details; they are in fact only details, or curiosities. The important fact is that this agriculture has become poorer in gamut without perfecting itself. The use of wild or subspontaneous species is no more than residual. The reduction in the number of cultivated species does not express, as in Europe, a selection of types, but a decline. Monotony reaches

[Ait Mh'nd]

/178 cont./

634 that was reflected up to the last times of siba /revolt/ in the
613 political rivalry between the two original ikhs-s: a. Umghar and
173 a. Bakhkha. The former was traditionally devoted to municipal
669 preponderance. The latter, to the agricultural initium. Neutral, the ikhs of the Imzilen provided conciliators: it was again asked recently, by a tumultuary election, for a customary judge. The a. Lamin started the war. The ait Umghar, having formed an alliance with the Idma and their emerging dynasty, the a. Anunu, consolidated their own power and ensured the advantage to the amghar Abdesslam b. Abdelmalek, father of the present chief.

634 Today, the a. Mh'nd include 120 foyers, to which it is
619 proper to add 44 emigrant ones, more or less settled outside.
592 These figures, at the time of the 1929 investigation, were respec-
162 tively 100 and 13 hearths. Progression of 1/5 in 20 years.

/179/ An Archaic Emigration

166 This emigration is an ancient phenomenon. The travelers
169 establish residence in the country of their choice, but keep their lands in their native country. They are seen again at harvest time. In April, 1951, a force of 60 men, that is, one from every two foyers, descended into the plain for the harvest. On the other hand, a worker emigration is still unknown.

About a third of the a. Mh'nd have settled outside of the
[179] Seksawa. This phenomenon, of ancient type, and not yet influenced by the industrial thrust of Morocco, doubtlessly has a certain documentary value. Among these emigrant foyers one counts: 1 settled in Marrakech, 4 in Casablanca, 3 at Imintanout, 3 at Agadir Inflas (Dwiran), 8 in ait Abdella, 2 at Ghdir Bnan, 4 in Ud Didan, 3 in Ud Mumna, 4 at Lalla^{C}Ariba, 1 in Ud Sawla (Ud Besseba^{C}), 10 at Tafttacht (Chyad'ma), 1 in ait ^{C}Aliwach (Mjjat'). That is, all departed toward the north.

It seemed interesting to find again in the plain, where they are within direct reach of the investigation, some of these temporary or definitive emigrants.

166 Brahim u H'ammo n-a. Umzil (60 years old), although living
159 at Agadir Inflas (Dwiran), still has all his relatives in a. Mh'nd.

[Demsira]

/219 cont./

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121 /footnote 2 continued/ des noms propres /For a collection of proper names/," Bulletin de l'Institut français d'Afrique Noire, 1950, p. 535; A. Roux, "Quelques remarques sur la formation des noms de tribus chez les berbérophones du Maroc /Some comments on the formation of names of tribes among the Berberophones of Morocco/," Actes et Mémoires du III^e Congrès international de toponymie et d'anthroponymie, Brussels, t. III, 1951, p. 485.

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/The following section, including subsections on the Nfifa, Mtugga, and Mez'ud'a, except for the last paragraph, is in small type in the original source./ In form and color, the
133 Demsira country resembles the Seksawa country, of which it
175 forms the exterior boulevard, on the side of the route from the
177 Sous. The tribe, thus exposed directly to the influences of an
184 important path of invasion and passage, agharas ugellid, has suf-
619 fered intensely, in its structures, from phases of order and from
[634] those of rebellion. It presents itself today as a string of cantons, stretched in the S.E.-N.W. direction, that of the route. The peak of the Bwibaun separates it from the Seksawa domain, into which, according to tradition, it formerly bit very deeply. Dispossessed of its conquests, it has even been amputated politically: its Iguntar are today subject to the a. Lh'sen. Thus it has suffered even more than the Seksawa from the action of the powers of the plain. Those of its cantons which, like the a. Châib and a. Bkhayr, have been able to escape through isolation have lived more shabbily than the Seksawa. The latter were protected, starting from their middle valley, by a relief in /220/ depth, a resistant hagiology, and probably a historical tradition: all things which are lacking in Demsira.

613 This said concerning the resemblances and differences, the
312 cross-checkings that have been brought to bear on this tribe have
[184] proved positive on a great number of points. Here are the principal ones:

423 /230 cont./
613 approaches the plain or as the system is worn away. But perhaps
184 even more in terms of the geographical breadth of the phenomena studied. Thus analysis leads here to the idea of variations in the space, to which we shall have to return.

171 The Coefficient of Value (1)

1. H. Lhote, Comment campent les Touareg /How the Tuareg camp/, 1947, p. 21, notes the clear division of the course among the Saharan Touareg, contrasting with its promiscuous character among the Sudanese Touareg.

312 In many cases, the division of the water by turns intervenes
423 only in a period of low water. Another method is established when the waters are high. The distinction of these two rhythms
● [177] of abundance or of low water is, moreover, a constant motif. It governs the relations between Seksawa and downstream beneficiaries, Dwiran and Ud Besseba[C]. Correlatively, scarcity brings into play, this would be in the matter of pasturage, narrow divisions. Thus, in Ibuban, at Tugg Lkheyr and at Timskert, the compression of the villages by the arête of the Ameznir, where the territory of the a. Mh'and begins, entails this extraordinary thing: the division of the pasturage by "cairns," Ikraker.

829 Certainly, other causes can intervene. Thus this condensation /231/ of toponymy and also of human interests and work, even of affectivity, which characterize, in relation to the vast extent of mountain spaces, the tillage ground and its heart: the irrigated ground. In all the cases, a common element prevails: that of the value /Fr. prix/ attached by these men to such and such of their goods: land for cultivation, water, or pasture, in terms of its narrowness, its rarity, or other elements more obscure for us. This perspective of rarity is, in relation to the great arable stretches of plain, such as in Chaouia or in Tadla, very characteristic of the Atlas. Another consequence of the evolution

/358 cont./

175 423 671 It is for this reason that the tribe has agreed upon this point, thus cutting short contestations opposed to past or future revendication.

This hostility to a right drawn from possession, that is, let us take care, to ownership, whenever it does not agree with the gentilitial distribution of the ground, is not new. A judgment of 991 Heg.: 1583 (a. D'alh'a) is based on the consideration that "these claims given out on faith from possession are vain and can be heard no more than the void." At this time, the generalization of the notarial writing being quite recent, it is not very probable that the aṣl was necessarily an act. One is thus led to suppose for this period means of proof other than the production of writing. Recourse to a sacramental procedure, to sworn law or to such a manifestation by the group? It is probable that the notarial [177] method was literally snatched up by the needs of the Chleuh /Shluh/ society, which, in this matter as in others, surpassed and overwhelmed, according to its own ends, the prototype from the fiqh.

/359/ Former Form Poorly Normalized: the "rrahn"

425 This procedural rule found its keenest necessity in the existence of an institution that combines stability and mobilization of the patrimony. I mean the rrahn (1).

1. On the Berbère /Berber/ rrahn, cf., besides our afore-mentioned article on al-Abbâsî, notes at §§12 and 14, with quotations from al-Bakrî, from the Istiqṣâ', and from the Manâqib al-H'ud'aykî on the history of this form in the Sous and the Atlas, see as-Suktânî, Ajwiba, ms. from the zaouia of the Ud^{c}Abdalmawlâ, pp. 80 b sq. Among the European authors, cf. especially, besides the fine study on the Kabyle rahn by H.-L., Kabylie... /Kabylia.../, t. II, pp. 534 sq.; G.

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/365 cont./

/footnote 1 continued/ on the one side, a. Tunert, I. i-yzimmer, Irohalen; on the other, Ichkajjen, a. Dris.

against which the Seksawa are directly backed (a. Tunert, I. i-yzimmer, Irohalen), it is the totality of goods that is obligatorily "haboused": hence inalienability and disinheritance of women extending to the ensemble of the ground. Elsewhere it is a matter of a simple faculty, but so laid under contribution in the mountains of Imintanout that at the same period the proportion of habous was evaluated at two fifths of the tillable land. Twenty-five years ago the judiciary jemâa of the Demsira even expressed the wish that one half of all contested landed-property should be considered habous. This practice has not been retained. But it prevails in [671] Haut /Upper/ Gedmiwa under the name of taîqît (2).

2. But nothing may be concluded with certainty, the customary law of the Aghbar seeming to have undergone recent evolutions of an administrative order that have accentuated its imprecision. It appears to us today, much more than the Seksawa law, to be a "patoisant" /speaking with a provincial accent/ law, whether this character be ancient or acquired.

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On the other hand, scarcely any habous in Bas /Lower/ Seksawa, downstream from the confluence of the asif n-a. Lh'sen. A [691] foundation of the protégé of Brives, Ah'med ou Bihi, at Tuz'z'umt, was regarded as an anomaly and gave rise to a long lawsuit: it is true that the wife of the founder was a foreigner from the Mtugga. [1177] Even lower, in the plain, permeable to outside influences, this form concerns, as in Arab countries, only a minority of "great families." It doubtlessly then finds the alibi of its pious intention. On the contrary, it is so frequent in the mountains that it is presumed of all land. But the customary judge opposes to this

794 428 (695) /365 cont./ But the customary judge opposes to this exception /plea/ the necessity of establishing by "inventory," jrîda, the initial consistence of the properties on which the foundation bears. He opposes to it also — but since when? — the argument of peaceable possession exercised by the defendant, if nevertheless the claimant or his creators were present in the country. Obviously no conclusion can be drawn from these /366/ practices. There are mixed together here preoccupations of equity inspired by the French advisor, a concept of decennial prescription borrowed from the fiqh, and a general tendency toward the consolidation of acquired rights. So many recent evolutions.

[177] [178]

12 794 This geographic distribution perhaps marks different stages of the institution. In this hypothesis, the "purest" one would be found upstream, and especially in these three I. Mh'mud cantons where the land is entirely immobilized. It is possible that that would be the original stage. But if it is, it is necessary to recognize that the parties' freedom, by a curious paradox, went further in the matter than the fiqh wished. At least among the Seksawa an express convention of the devolutionaries can free the landed property. Is that a matter of an eventuality more theoretical than effective? This is impossible to specify. In fact, as is known, the settlement of landed-property affairs took place "under the sign" of the fiqh and in any case in a climate completely different from that of the conflict. Therefore no jurisprudence that was not suspect of transposition at the very least. As for the oral tradition, today very much impaired by the progressive disappearance of the old people, and the influence of recent organizations, it becomes very subject to caution as soon as the problem becomes nuanced. It is too stuttering for one to be able to base anything precise on it.

[173]

794 428 671 [562] [184] One thing is sure, however. These foundations are subordinated to the stipulation of a "reserve" or "margin," lh'achit, to which the habous does not apply. This portion of the landed property remains subject to the common law. The women benefit from it, either by having it available as property or by only enjoying the usufruct. On these points the variety is very great between taqbilt-s and expresses complex evolutions. Nevertheless, and in all cases, the absence of lh'achit is a nullity. In a milieu as bereft of precision concerning the notarial practice, one weighs what this formalist rule will bring in the way of surprises in the course of proceedings. Quite often this unforseen new thing will

/385 cont./

000 understood, feint, surprise, violence temporarily broke up a legitimacy that adequate means, brought into play by the other party, came to re-establish in the end. Emigration, which one may consider as going back to a very ancient practice, had an important function: that of creating voids. Individual absences, ritual flights, military dispossessions unbalanced the local group. Today we see the return of the exiled child, who is not "prodigal," /386/ but miserly, take place in feast and scandal, because the one exiled brings back his savings, and because he is immediately going to attack sedentary capital. Formerly the role of these movements of individuals or of groups seems to have been preponderant. At the same time that it reconstituted the substance of the groups, it formed the bond between the two contrary elements whose tension we are observing even at present. Right of the soil and of origins against right of money and convention, on the one hand; right of the absent one against right of the one present, on the other hand: the antiquity of the system probably resided in the play of these four terms.

• 177 The contemporary stage expresses the organization that is built between these basic data and the oriental contribution. But when and how does this contribution intervene, and from which foyers of diffusion? Insoluble question for the moment. What is sure is that the amalgamation took place on levels of unequal depth according to the sectors of the institution. An important thing, because the oriental norms seem to have sometimes been accepted or submitted to in such a way that the practice contrived to palliate them, sometimes voluntarily elected, indeed systematically exaggerated, or diverted toward other ends. The hypothesis of phases of deliberate adoption or of authoritarian imposition, Almohadism, for example, is not excluded. With less gigantic, less legendary proportions, there were perhaps other cases in which adjustment was attempted by the indigenous legislative genius between the ancestral ideas and the universal alphabet that Islam brought. Whence the importance of so many founding heros, today submerged under a dull or rude hagiology, but in which one has a presentiment of appurtenance to an old

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776 177 Mediterranean foundation. Thus perhaps here this Âmer u H'addô, magician-king according to the Arab chronicle, eponym of the highest valley. The agellid-s of the fourteenth century were perhaps the first great adapters. But they are buried in an indiscernable past.

The Age of the System

671 779 182 It is thus better to hold fast to a patent fact: that the Seksawa system realizes a transactional equilibrium with Islam, and undoubtedly in large part conscious.

Great sections of fiqh exist intact here and can easily be recognized: use of Arabic writing and orthodox notarial forms. Clear conviction of the user that he is drawing inspiration from the one and the other norm, the indigenous and the oriental, the former gaining through local conditionings, the latter in the /387/ ethical choice. So many traits that would make one think of a profound adulteration of the system. And although composite is not the synonym of backward, the impression would be that one is dealing, in the Chleuh /Shluh/ law, with a bastard and derived phenomenon. But here is the opposite side.

[212] Invasion by the fiqh, certainly. But delimited, elaborated in a personal ensemble. Adoption of writing, certainly, but with the benefit of local prestiges. Assimilation, certainly, but balanced, circumscribed, desired, and sometimes even, one would say, simulated. Would this law then be a very old system able to safeguard, under wise adaptations, its original legacy? Similarly, what is to be concluded concerning its morcellation? It presents itself today divided into minuscule personalities of cantons and ravines according to a compartmentalization that, remarkably enough, does not always coincide with that of the ways of speaking. But does that imply youth or decadence? At the very least the existence of a Chleuh /Shluh/ juridical koïnè, entirely coherent and thoughtful, although broken up into a thousand varieties, postulates a maturity favorable to the

/390 cont./

796 795 assume a "national" role, and benefit from an organized cult, with great gatherings and financial arrangements. Still higher reign the ties subscribed to by such-and-such a village or, less frequently, such-and-such a taqbilt or such-and-such a family, with regard to saints from the outside. Individual depassments then enter into play. But confreric affiliation is scarcely represented in Seksawa, or rather is confounded there, under certain of these aspects, with the particular devotions to such-and-such a "marabout": here and there in the mountains one finds the faithful of sidi Ah'med u Musa, who attend his end-of-summer musem. Purely individual matter, matter of "conscience" and also of mode, hence the growth and decadence of a brotherhood like the Nâçiriyya for example, quite decayed from what it was a century ago. Matter of craze also, indeed of vertigo, as was seen at the time of the push of Mâ' l-ᶜAynîn in 1912. And there one touches upon the richness, the unforeseeability of a spirituality whose movements of course largely surpass the cadre of the Seksawa or even of the Atlas.

797 /391/ The liaison to the ground and the hagiological creation are formed diversely according to these stages, at each of which their power is affirmed, one might say, in inverse proportion to each other. At the base, a collective allegiance sustained by an agrarian order. At the intermediary stage, rudiments of cantonal, indeed federal, cult. Then contracts between groups and patron saints. Finally purely personal devotion. So many social modes, orders of ideas and sentiments that are echeloned on these different levels, but not, it is true, without interferences [798] of one with the other. And Islam reacts, constantly although unequally, on everything.

671 178 •179 In the law, on the contrary, there has not only been transformation, but reconstruction. Borrowed norms have operated on a layer less deep than the old institutions that they tended to supplant. This discordance has brought adjustment. Consequently, a strong denivellation today separates the spirit of this law from its procedure, and even from the mores through which it attempts to safeguard, in spite of this procedure, what is essential for it. Thus

/391 cont./

671 the system was dedicated to complication, subtlety, feint. The
178 contribution from the outside became the avowed principle,
177 whereas the indigenous foundation fell back on secrecy and
chicanery. Nevertheless, the ensemble held. It held by the
671 conspiracy of the economy, of a collective psychology, and of
182 the event. It held above all because this society set the communal institution against the external threats and internal dislocation. The commune rebuilt everything that collapsed. This permanent reconstruction alone rendered possible the maintaining of the ensemble in spite of so many incongruities.

182 Only the commune fashioned the synthesis. And it is precisely in its most conscious form, most modern to our eyes, the most striking by its democratic and laic character, in these deliberations by the group on its law and its saints, that so many heterogeneous elements were best expressed: the old shy particularity, reference to Islam, and, above all, the desire to adapt, to innovate in order to preserve, to innovate in order to survive.

A Suppressed Culture

121 This course is the very one of history. In fact, we found history, among the Seksawa, not only in the obscure testimony of medieval chronicles, but in the structure of the groups, the adventure of individuals, and the /392/ very hierarchy of the sacred. Perhaps it is also to be recognized in the style of their culture and of their life.

177 The evolution and the secular action of the capitals, Marrakech /Marrakesh/, Taroudant, which are in some respects two cities of God, came less to modify the local genius, or to precipitate its rhythm, than to add to its complexity. As far as one goes
181 back, it is found imbued with this aptitude for heterogeneity,
177 which, if it is not original, certainly goes back to a stage still anterior to our oldest archives. Although this stage remains to be specified, one divines there a singular propensity to accept the thing of others. Introduction of foreign norms, acceptance of master words, in this case the language of a legal fraternity somewhat sorcerer, culture of defensive strategems, use of mask elements and refuge elements: all that creates a composite, artificial genre, both welcoming and resistant, servile and inexpugnable. For the Chleuh /Shluh/, his very nature.

/392 cont./

181 The outside contribution clashes more with the local authen-
177 ticity, and it more willingly, one might say, accepts it. From day to day the system increases its amplitude, magnifies its virtuosity to welcome. The Mussulman exclusion of usury is going to be fashioned in it with an immemorial practice of credit
[179] with interest. The preferences of the fiqh for the contract, which
[675] it substitutes every time it can for the rite or the statute, are adopted with enthusiasm by this communitarian society, which goes further. In that the fiqh will not only be accepted, but surpassed, caricatured. The milieu has brought into play its prodigious agility of means, its dangerous munificence of gifts. Acrobatic conciliation with its profound, and in a sense parodic, options.

121 One is not sure in fact that a certain play, some incertitude, indeed even this vagueness that so opportunely authorizes bilingualism, are not contrived as evasion. Game aspect, ruse aspect, surprise aspect, absurdity aspect: so many, if I may venture to say it, relief escapements left to the ennui of the honest Chleuh /Shluh/ man, which mortify both his own ideal and the adventure of the times.

The system of the Seksawa, or of another such of these populations, naturally does not present itself as a body of doctrine, even though the preceding analyses have, perhaps to excess, indicated the part of the deliberate. It is especially a technical ensemble corresponding to an ensemble of emotions, to a certain
121 awareness of the just and the unjust. This feeling, it is history
175 that has created it. Now this is a history of retreats and defeats. The decrescendo of hope undoubtedly began among the Seksawa with the construction of the citadel of al-Qâhira, which pushed them back toward the mountains. Elsewhere, with other events, standing out from a general failure: /393/ the one that sanctioned in the last third of the thirteenth century the installation of the Mérinides at Marrakech, among the last jumps of Almohadism. For our Seksawa, these jumps lasted throughout the fourteenth century.

/393 cont./

175 121 Intellectual, technical, and linguistic shock. Simultaneously a phenomenon better understood agitated all of Morocco. This was the reaction of the masses before the Christian enterprises of the littoral. New burst of hagiology. The "tireurs" /marksmen, drawers/ pursued in the most remote cantons their confreric training. Saints swarmed. Their high-colored figure formed the synthesis between the Islamic universals and the ritual forces of the canton. Thus, the great South "pole," sidi Ah'med u Musa. Although, since the Mérinides, the Seksawa mountains remained in a fierce isolation, one cannot grant that they remained completely apart. There, as undoubtedly elsewhere in the Sous, the man of God and the warrior, with the rural notary, henceforth made up a /394/ triptych by which this society expected to resolve its contrasts.

[137] [177] At the same time there arrived in the depths of lost valleys, in the form of new plants, or new money, some of the great movements that were then shaking the world: plant revolution of maize, attraction of the great colonial exploitation with sugar cane, appeal of the factories of the littoral, latest triumphs of the importation of Sudanese gold. All this created a conjuncture of a singular power, which corresponds in the chronicles to the rise of these petty marabouts of the bend of the Drâ, the Saâdians. Node of economy, of institution, of spirituality, of event. Can one go back farther? This is what, too hypothetically without doubt, one has attempted to do.

Ideals and Comportments

577 [128] Let us now jump four or five centuries to carry ourselves to the beginning of the twentieth. Let us abandon the historical reconstitution and the analysis of the actual institution in order to [184] perceive the morality. Is it already too late? Here is what we can observe in any one of the Seksawa taqbilt-s.

[571] All personal existence here is enclosed in the confused ensemble of affective relations. Wasps' nest of comportments, all having their moral qualification, as well as their economic

/421 cont./

619 634 better than the puny mountain republics, known how to make itself respected. But even in the steepest cantons in Seksawa the system does not survive the problems of vaster bounds, of more complex political circuits. As soon as there is passage to a new [613] order of size, there is passage to another rhythm. The clarity of the relations between the ikhs-s and the taqbilt is effaced. Correlatively instructive phenomena appear.

For example, here are the a. H'adduyws, a vast ensemble composed of at least three taqbilt-s. The argument of a eponymous ancestor -- this is also the only case of this genre that we found in Seksawa -- covers an avowed heterogeneity of origins as well as of vocations. Here are the Mez'ud'a with their ten "centuries," myawat, expressing a recent and deliberate division, and their magnificent ritual and hydraulic order. They give an idea of the /422/ maximal dimension that can affect this genre of society without causing it to lose certain characteristics. And 613 619 634 nevertheless what changes are to be discerned there! In Mez'ud'a as in a. H'adduyws the distribution of lands is no longer gentilitial for the ensemble. It remains so only within the subgroups, themselves divided into ikhs-s. The connection of the ikhs-s within the [423] subgroup, of subgroups of different stage within the tribe is obscured. The habitat has an influence on the denomination of the inferior subdivisions. The ancient solidarities, expressed by an agrarian order, are effaced. There is, one might say, recourse to compensatory themes of identification or of qualification. That stands out from the name of the groups in Mtugga. Appeal is made simultaneously, or by turns, to the place, to the sobriquet, to consanguinity. A veritable disarray, a disorder which is not of the Chleuh /Shluh/ genius are distinguished, for example, in the heteroclite denominations of the inferior units in a khoms such as the Idaw Nifi. One in fact also sees simple numerical divisions intervene: a H'adduyws "third," Mez'ud'a "centuries," Mtugga [177] "fifths." In the second of these cases, the borrowing of a makhzanian form -- flattering analogy with the guich /gish/ tribes -- is obvious. But in the others, too, any artificial character is not excluded from the division.

/442 cont./

182 coincide. An analysis /443/ that was more profound would uncover, I believe, other cases of discordance of the various series of facts between themselves on the one hand, with the cantonal cadre on the other. For if this last, which is connected to the geography, has acted to such an extent, through its physical consistency as well as through its limitations, upon everything that touches on the organizations, other orders of things, subjacent in a way to the group life, have remained independent of this cadre and are understood only by reference to a broader generality.

If it is indeed so, one sees why and how this canton so well protected seeks, on the side of a geographical, doctrinal, or political depassment, the ransom of a particularism submitted to rather than constructed. The humblest cell is connected, by a whole network of virtualities, to material or ethical systems that far surpass it. These virtualities, legacy of history, are roused under shocks, appearing in case of need. Wider and wider circles of solidarity can then be roused around minute centers. And the local genius, among all these configurations with shifting and ambiguous names: sect, tribe, party, finds a thousand occasions for games of guile and devotion. Every montagnard of adventurous instinct has at his disposal, merely in the depths of his valley, a clavier of correspondences, with which it depends only upon his audacity, his talent in knowing how to play, in order to make of him a prophet, or a conqueror, or, more modestly, a politician.

177 186 Let us leave the scene of the upper cantons for that of the Sous in its ensemble. The Chleuhs /Shluh/ have fully suffered the impact of the oriental culture. Patient and scrupulous, at the same time that they adhered to it on the plane of faith, they sought there their own values. They find a balance in these syntheses, of which their law is the most successful. Adhesion to others, the necessity and the taste for compromise have maintained among them not only subtlety, but a personality of dependence. This fine construction is made and judged with respect to external ideals. It dares be itself only stealthily. Its identity, even more than its autonomy, suffers in this. It is marked by what a modern school would call a feeling of "altérité" /otherness/.

/443 cont./

177 186 This is not the place here to investigate the ethical consequences of the fact. Let us simply note the verification that it brings to bear, by the consciousness and the very avowal of the subject, on the dependencies disclosed by the analysis in the life of the most remote cantons. Now this genius does not give way for all that. There will therefore be controversy between adhesion to others and the nostalgia of oneself. Its determination by the outside becomes, according to the case, transcendence from the outside or rebellion from the inside.

It is naturally on the level of expression that /444/ compromise is realized most. Whence it happens that these people express themselves little and poorly. Whence it happens that all social or personal life feels the effects of a discord between different layers of psychology. Also, in many cases, the group as well as the individual will have the feeling of again seizing their identity only in excess, violence. Whence these impulsive fits of a patient and devout race: heresy, with which it peoples the "dark centuries," and, at all times, a millenarianism fertile in bursts. While waiting for other modes of expression...

The Maghreb, Continuous Tissue

177 Parallel to the Dir, in the region of Imintanout, runs the boundary between the Chleuh /Shluh/ and the Arab. It is also, at least today, a boundary between tribes and ways of life. It is not an ethnological boundary. A detailed analysis would show that there is no exact coincidence between the different orders of facts (1).

[177] 1. The patient inquiries of A. Basset reveal on this subject surprising reciprocal relations. The word asnus in the sense of "young ass" is employed in Morocco only in the zone not reached by Romanity. Lexicographical variants that go back to Moroccan events appear in the bend of

/444 cont./

/footnote 1 continued/ the Niger, cf. "La langue berbère au Sahara /The Berber language in the Sahara/," Cahiers Ch. de Foucauld, 1948. p. 12.

In the juridical matter itself -- and it is this that most obeys the group compartmentalization -- there exist throughout the Maghreb curious coincidences between a so-called "bédo.ine" /Bedouin/ practice and certain so-called "berbères" /Berber/ practices. Finally, various traits have led us to think, especially apropos matrimonial customs, that Fès /Fez/, capital of the fiqh, is such also, in certain respects, for a singularly tenacious customary law. These disconnected indications do not aspire to give proof, which one is not in a position to do for the moment. They simply seek to cast doubt upon simplistic classifications. Our knowledge of North Africa is not yet profound enough to reach basic elements: Arab, Berbère, or others. That is perhaps the ossature, and the ossature of the living being is not touched. We have not come to the study of a skeleton, or even to discerning a physiology whose functions for the most part still escape us, or are driven back by evolution into an inaccessible past. The only thing that is offered us is a living tissue. But this tissue is without break.

It would certainly be paradoxical to deny the personality of vast and strong zones such as this Chleuh /Shluh/ world, whose persistent originality everything attests to. But if, at the very center of this world, in the /445/ most rugged mountains, in a milieu whose particularism bursts forth, analysis encounters such a dependency upon the exterior, what will it be for milieus more accessible or more inviting! Still on this point, a lesson of geographical and historical continuity becomes clear from the Seksawa type. Allowance once made -- it must be great -- for the laws peculiar to the Chleuh /Shluh/ world: a certain sort of morcellation and of unity, the confused reference to external and internal symbols --, this lesson can be understood for the entire Maghreb. Homogeneous, for one sees the same themes circulate

/445 cont./

177 in it, the same problems posed, sometimes the same solutions in-
171 tervening from Fès to the Atlas and from the Gharb to the Djérid. At the same time heterogeneous, if one thinks of the no less important evidence of varieties of comportment going so far as violent affirmation, secession and insurrection. Most often, it is institutional denivellations, shifts in emphasis, themselves arising from local structures, that introduce variety, indeed discordance.

000 When the study of these phenomena is undertaken systematically for the ensemble of North Africa, the richness and the precision of relations that it will discover, their firmness of contour, the constancies that will stand out between the most modern evolutions and the oldest foundations will no doubt console the investigator who has found nothing here that calls to mind the Dogons and the Nambikwara.

177 Contemporary sociologists describe under the name of acculturation the transformation of a society in contact with another, expansive or superior. There results on the part of the more receptive one, the client or the conquered, an instinctive simulation of the most intimate realities, a search for arguments drawn from the model. A mass of ancient traits sinks into a system of survivals, of practices more or less clandestine or disdained. The same in the individual consciousness. Folklore on the one hand, psychological vestiges on the other. The reaction of the Maghrebi system, formerly in regard to the Orient, today in regard to France, points up in many respects this sort of phenomenon. Mixed and adulterated society, certainly, and from as far back as one goes. Society in which the problems of reinterpretation, of opposition or of transaction have outweighed all others. But in this eternal conflict it takes on such a strong personality that even its most protected cantons remain unintelligible to one who does not consider them from the dimensions of a whole space, a whole history.

/450 cont./

184 is madly surpassed. This learned variety of leagues of cantons, of quarters, is in short only a perverted division of labor.

181 179 Excess and precariousness are not free from connections with the events that have folded Chleuh /Shluh/ culture back nto its mountain caisson of the Moroccan Southwest. This geographical suppression, a secular defensive have no doubt determined the work of this society upon itself. But to what extent was this to liberate in it the development of its own values or merely to exaggerate a general evolution? The answer depends on the manner in which one considers the country in relation to the rest of North Africa. Of that it is indeed an integral part. To limit ourselves to two extremes, we believe there is sociological continuity between Fès /Fez/ and the Seksawa. One could even say that the cantons of the Haut-Atlas offer the most authentic expression of Maghrebi society, owing to the persistence of the cadre, and the most animated, owing to their hyperbolic genius. But history could have acted differently on the part and on the whole.

Does not the deviated richness of the Chleuh /Shluh/ world arise from a general phenomenon? From the middle of the fourteenth century, peasant life collapsed on the Mediterranean periphery. The fifteenth century was par-excellence in Europe a period of epidemics, devastation, depopulation (2).

2. F. Braudel kindly pointed out to me in this connection the studies of Lütge and of Wilhelm Abel.

On this side of the ocean a classical tradition imputes to the Hilalians the responsibility for the same sort of adversity. However that may be, the two shores are once again dissociated. The former takes an economic and technical flight that the latter will not know for a long time. The Seksawa, these refractory ones, in vain isolated themselves, shrank in upon themselves, they, along with the other Chleuhs /Shluh/, were nonetheless carried along with the destinies of the South shore. But perhaps their personality asserted itslef even more against /451/ that which in general

/451 cont./

181 surrounds them and menaces them: Bédouin mobility, the decline
177 of the surrounding countryside, this universal culture itself, to which they have so profoundly adhered. Whence the excess, the feint...

Participation or resistance to North African history have doubtlessly both acted. But which more, and according to which variations in time, and in which context of facts: here a new investigation begins. /Page 452 is blank./

311 /14 cont./ Accordingly, when bad harvests
24] follow one another too closely, the less favored regions first cast
166 the people back toward the springs and séguias; then, if the rains
[132] still delay, as happens several times a century, famine chases
[731] families and flocks toward the plains of the Gharb /Rharb/.
[727] Tribal migrations in the wake of wars and epidemics further accelerate this perpetual stir. The result of these internal move-
[01] ments is to facilitate the fusion of races, unify culture, and give
[144] to the elements that form the "Chleuh" /Shluh/ group common characteristics that distinguish it easily from the other Berbère /Berber/ populations.

121 VII. The roads of the Atlas and of the Anti-Atlas. -- What-
101 ever may be the richness of the central valley of the Sous wadi, which the Zagmouzen, the Haut-Dra, and the Dadès produce between the two chains, it is not in this part of the Moroccan South that one can observe the most original manifestations of the social life of the Berbères /Berbers/. The latter are not at ease in the qsour /fortified places/ and the big villages in the
[177] midst of the séguias and gardens. There they encounter the "haraten" /Haratin/ -- descendants of black slaves -- the /15/ Arabs who have entered the service of the Makhzen /makhzan/, the shorfa /shurfa/, and the marabouts, attracted by the fertility
[144] of the land. The population of the oases resulting from this mixture of races soon loses all its warlike qualities and most often falls under the domination of foreign leaders or of the more bellicose tribes in the vicinity. The true territory of the autochthons remains the mountains, and it is by studying the groups that occupy them and remain the most active and the most numerous that we shall succeed at the same time in understanding what influences are exerted on the lives of the inhabitants of the plains.

133 The Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ and the Anti-Atlas do not by
491 any means constitute an impassable barrier. They are crossed by numerous passes, which take the line of the valleys, by which constant relations are established between the two versants, so that the displacement of people, the migration of families and tribes are scarcely stopped by the obstacle of the mountains.

/21 cont./

226 438 primitive nets thousands of tuna and bonito, which are sold, dried or cooked, at a great distance at the markets of the interior. But, in spite of the interest that the complementary resources of fishing present for this poor country, the shores of the 133 361 [226] Ocean remain nearly deserted. The scarcity of springs, insufficient activity of the inhabitants, and the dangers of the shelters and beaches contribute toward making the shores of the Atlantic one of the most classic types of "côte de dispersion" /coast of dispersion/.

133 361 648 Moreover, the difficulties of access to the coast have most often sufficed to keep foreign navigators away. As in all the other Atlantic regions of Morocco, the masters of the sea who were trying to get a foothold on the continent encountered here, as a matter of fact, a double difficulty: first of all they had to conquer the perils of the bar /Fr. barre, bar, bore, helm/ and then the resistance of the tribes, whose habitat located in the interior escaped their direct reach. These circumstances explain [439] at the same time the repulse of outside intervention /22/ and the feeble vitality of the small ports of the Ocean, whose role has been limited to small-scale fishing and the commercial traffic of a poor country, retired within itself, and which for a long time has asked the Occident only for arms in order to defend itself and thus to preserve its isolation better.

Thus no maritime Berbère /Berber/ civilization has ever been seen to rise on the banks of the Sous, since the autochthons have shown themselves incapable of leaving the shore in their too-fragile boats, any more than there developed lasting foreign activity that might have perceptibly modified the life of the 175 country. The Phoenician settlements founded by Hannon /Hanno/ 177 in the fifth century before our era had only a fleeting life and disappeared without leaving any traces. In the time of Juba, the Fortunate Isles -- the Archipelago of the Canaries -- seem to have been the objective of the Roman fleets much more than the poor shelters of this coast of the Sous. Later the Arab sailors who frequented the shores of the Atlantic from Tangier to Senegal up to the thirteenth century do not appear to have given much attention to the south of Morocco. When at the end of the fourteenth century Jean de Bethancourt /Béthencourt/ took possession of the Canaries, where populations of Berbère /Berber/ or Libyc origin,

/22 cont./

000 the Guanches, then lived, the use of boats was still unknown in the islands. What we know of the life of the islanders, on the other hand, indicates that they remained entirely separated from the continent for long centuries.

175 The most determined foreign intervention in the Sous took
648 place at the time of the Christian conquest of the sixteenth century. But, to be sure, the establishment of the Portuguese at Mogador and Agadir had above all as a consequence that of bringing about in the interior a powerful maraboutic reaction that was to end in their defeat; the result of these struggles was thus to defend the Sous still more jealously against European penetration for more than four centuries.

133 Here, as on the whole western coast of Morocco, the long
177 waves of the Atlantic, which come to die by breaking on the
182 beaches, by driving ships from the shore, confined the old Mus-
361 sulman Empire in its archaic institutions more securely than the best-guarded walls. At the same time, in this faraway province of a country that nature alone sufficed to isolate from the Occident, the Berbère /Berber/ tribes in their mountain bastions, far from the roads of the Makhzen /makhzan/, tried to preserve intact /23/ a language, traditions, and customs still more ancient.

It is by means of this double defense against the outside that the inhabitants of the Sous were to keep before our eyes up to the present, in their secluded valleys, the obscure and agitated life that doubtless the peoples of the Mediterranean knew before the development of the cities and empires of Greece and Rome.

178 /36 cont./
173 Khaldoun, scholarly genealogies to explain the relations of the
619 tribes among themselves; there exists only the belief, rather
*631 vague, to be sure, in the blood brotherhood of all the members
*634 of the small cantons among which are found the formerly more
829 coherent ethnic masses now divided into fractions. Again we
shall see how the constant bringing of foreign elements inside the
•177 frontiers of the autonomous mountain States ceaselessly alters
602 even more the primitive idea of kinship, which tends to disap-
829 pear to make way for the solidarity of families united in the pos-
session of the same valley.

161 VI. Form of the human groupings (towns, villages, hamlets). -- Henceforth settled on the soil, the population of the Sous is concentrated, /37/ according to the regions, in towns, in large villages, in scattered hamlets.

000 In truth, the towns, Marrakech, Mogador, Taroudant, although peopled in the majority by Berbères /Berbers/, have remained foreign organisms in spite of the importance of the political and economic ties that unite them to the tribes of the vicinity.

Marrakech /Marrakesh/, the largest town in Morocco, whose population in our time reaches 150,000 inhabitants, is doubtless a powerful urban center that exerts its attraction on the tribes farthest from the Sous. But this town, founded by the Almoravides on a site chosen by them far from the Atlas in order to escape the attacks of the Masmouda, has remained, in spite of the efforts of the Almohade and Saadian dynasties, a simple residence of the Makhzen /makhzan/ and a permanent big market. The numerous families originally from the South who are settled there work at only humble trades and submit to the laws of this Mussulman city without ever having tried to modify them according to the peculiar genius of Berbèrie /Barbary/.

632 Mogador, constructed in the eighteenth century to serve as
[504] port for the tribes of the South, neighboring the Atlantic, under
[643] the permanent control of the Sultan, is a still more artificial
[162] creation. The Chleuhs /Shluh/ who inhabit it, whose commercial

/46 cont./

43 Nevertheless, formerly, in the isolation of this region, a
182 balanced regime had been established here; at the cost of some
[166] privations, a population that remained retired within itself suc-
[731] ceeded in providing for itself, especially in the mountains; it did not have to call on the outside to increase its resources -- in the form of temporary emigration of the able-bodied men -- except at times of famine. Moreover, the profits which the Chleuhs /Shluh/ know how to make from the trade that they carry on in the towns even used to give certain tribes -- /47/ the Aït ʿAïsi and the Aït Mzal, for example -- actual prosperity.

433 But this fragile economy was to be upset by the opening of
439 Morocco to European markets in the nineteenth century. So poor
182 a country was indeed tempted to improve its difficult conditions
•179 of existence by importing foodstuffs, clothing, and manufactured
[631] objects; but at the same time its purchases were contributing toward exhausting it. Moreover, since the establishment of the power of the great chiefs and kaids over the independent communities had the consequence of imposing heavy burdens on the tribes, the economic ruin of the Sous was to be brought about in two generations of people.

433 In truth, the various parts of the country found themselves
184 unequally affected by this transformation, according to their
182 initial state of poverty, the way of life of their inhabitants, and
179 their degree of penetration by the modern economy.

In the mountainous regions, at least where the political evo-
511 lution has not noticeably altered the primitive conditions of the
556 people, there are neither true poor nor true rich. Each Berbère
[184] /Berber/ possesses a small flock of sheep and goats, and in the
[422] bottom of the valley some cultivated terraces, big walnut trees
[423] irrigated by the séguias, and almond trees on the flank of the mountain. Barley, rye, maize, turnips, long garlands of which dry hung along the houses, suffice for daily subsistence. Goats or sheep are sacrificed only on festival days or when a guest
511 comes by. Clothing does not require any great expense. That of
556 the women is made of a very long piece of brown wool with
291 which the body is adroitly draped and which is held above the

/47 cont./

511 breasts by clasps of silver, bronze, or thorn. The men envelop
556 themselves in a shorter piece of wool, unless they wear -- in our
291 day this is the most frequent case -- a long shirt and breeches of cotton goods. A full black cloak, "akhnif," provided with a hood and decorated on the back with a curious red motif, completes the costume of the montagnard.

32 The Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ is almost entirely devoid of
184 local industries; by contrast, in the Anti-Atlas and the Sirwa there are several centers of activity, whose origin and traditions are still little known and would doubtless merit being studied.
325 Artisans /48/ there know how to smelt the iron and copper ores
326 that are found in metallic deposits of minor importance and
184 whose presence has been enough to perpetuate the reputation of mineral wealth of the South. Master workmen, nearly all descendants of black slaves, manufacture guns and daggers inlaid
[306] with silver. Others, Jews or Mussulmans, preserve the tradition
[178] of jewelry work of bronze, silver, and gold. There is not any doubt, to be sure, that these small industrial centers have already been hit by decline.

439 For twenty years the development of commerce in the whole
• 177 of the Empire and the influx of commodities and manufactured goods from the Occident have been making their effects felt as far as the depths of the high valleys. To buy these novelties, the
[432] montagnard sells in the souks /sooks/ of the Dir his harvests of
[464] walnuts and almonds and part of his flock, and he sends his sons to work in the towns of the Gharb /Rharb/, to Algeria, and to France.

556 In the plains the distance between rich and poor increases
184 still more rapidly. The former own the gardens; the others cul-
511 tivate them. Irrigated fields give cereals, vegetables, and fruits in abundance. Olive and argan oil constitute another kind of wealth, which is transported in goatskins as far as the towns of the North. The greater proximity of the markets facilitates the introduction of foreign products in such a way that the material existence of a notable of the Sous plain tends to become similar to that of the other provinces where the Makhzen /makhzan/ has

/50 cont./

771 entirely; in the form of agrarian rites they have been preserved in
178 the Sous as in the other mountainous regions of North Africa with a surprising fidelity. It can be said, however, that in our day these survivals appear much more like traditions than like beliefs. Their importance is limited by the practical mind of the
771 Chleuhs /Shluh/, preoccupied above all with making nature fa-
789 vorable for their enterprises rather than with giving a symbolic
178 sense or a religious value to customs whose origin and meaning escape them. So we see magic more than religion continue to play, in spite of the decline of ancient rites, an important role in current life. It is what permits solving easily the problems that
[825] are posed each day. For example, when birds and insects harm the crops, it suffices to take the one of them that is considered the king and to execute it following an exact ceremony. If the jackals too often devour the lambs of the country, the simplest way to divert the trouble to a neighboring tribe is to deposit tiny jackals made of clay on the grass on which the sheep are browsing.

562 The magic of the women is less inoffensive; it does not con-
789 tent itself with calling on hidden principles that, for primitives, regulate the life of the universe; its sources are more obscure and mysterious. Put in the service of passion, it can bring on death or madness. Doubtless it is attached by hidden bonds to the /51/ ancient beliefs, and one understands that the old women skillful at spells and divination, whose memories keep in their secret recesses the traditions forgotten by the men, deserve the curse of the true Mussulmans and are regarded as the allies of Satan.

789 Finally, there are other magic practices that do not belong
[177] exclusively to the old Berbère /Berber/ stock, but doubtless come
[787] from the ancient civilizations of the Orient, perhaps brought by Islam itself: the knowledge of omens, the art of distinguishing, in order to imitate them, the men of good augury, and, on the other hand, of fleeing from those who bring misfortune; there is nothing up to the holy book itself that does not give the talebs of the Sous powerful formulas for evoking the spirits and making them

/132 cont./

221 233 one will see men, women, children, flocks assemble in order to go to live in the pastures of the high summits two months of complete freedom, far from the casbahs, the kaids, and the roads of the Makhzen /makhzan/.

*634 *631 *177 578 The only fear of the montagnards is that foreigners may come to disturb the life of their cantons, that they may be introduced into the country by means of disputes -- whose frequency sometimes seriously risks disturbing the regular course of the institutions, and that they may cause their small state to be included in the vast possessions of a great chief; so every ambitious man soon becomes suspect; one who through his speech or his actions rises above the council is in fact the same one who would go away tomorrow to ask for support in a neighboring casbah and would lead the "harka of the Makhzen" up to the outskirts of the villages; it is thus fitting for him to die so that the country may keep its independence. The dagger, poison, or a fortunate accident promptly puts an end to his imprudent acts.

*631 175 178 /133/ V. <u>The Haut-Atlas before the development of the power of the great chiefs.</u> -- These simple and anarchic customs, which are no longer observed at present except in the vicinity of the summits, were a short time ago those of a large part of the mountains. Sixty years ago, the oldest old men can easily still tell us, a large number of small autonomous republics passionately attached to the preservation of their liberty crowded around the peaks of the Tichka and Igdad and remained faithfully attached to their oligarchic constitutions. The great lords of today, whose knowledgeable policy of intervention has greatly reduced the extent of the country remaining free, were then only chiefs without importance. Among the Mtougga it was the minor kaids of the family of the Aït Mousa who, ceaselessly threatened by the powerful ʿAbdallah Ou Bihi, engaged all their efforts in obscure clan struggles, at the very gates of Bouaboud; similarly, the Gontafi was only a simple sheik from the Oued Nefis, subject, as were his like from the valley, to a kaid settled at the edge of the Jebel Kik in the casbah of Agergour, several hours' march from Marrakech.

121 /140 cont./

128 The contrast of these two pictures will now permit us to
*631 understand better the successive phases of the country's transformation.

*631 In a region that was formerly similar to the Kabylie /Kabylia/ of the Djurjura, the penetration of the Makhzen /makhzan/,
•177 at first very slow at the beginning of the nineteenth century, rushed along for two generations among the Masmouda of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/. Formerly it had as agents kaids settled at the foot of the mountains, whose influence, often discussed, was penetrating into the Atlas through the great valleys. For fifty years it had above all been the work of autochthonous chiefs acting in the heart of the country, with a power that later became almost unlimited. One then saw clashing with assemblies of notables, expressing the will of the tribes, kaids speaking in the name of the Sultan, and acting with a force unknown up to then, through the agency of caliphates and sheiks; almost always the establishment of sherifian authority had as a consequence the rapid destruction of local traditions and customs.

*631 But it was particularly at the time of the development of Moroccan anarchy, during the first years of the twentieth century,
[726] that the transformation imposed by the conquest was more violent. The furious wars that were waged by the three great chiefs of the Atlas on one another for the possession of the tribes accentuated still more the importance of the changes that had taken place. At the same time the domination of the great kaids hardened; soon a powerful feudal façade appeared, which masked from us the existence of independent groups and concealed from us the deep unity of the social structure of the whole /141/ country. It was
*631 then that the French policy of penetration into the South of Mo-
648 rocco, supported by the Makhzen /makhzan/, found interested auxiliaries in the person of the great kaids. This clever rally permitted them for ten years to consolidate their power further and to apply themselves to making, by energetic domination, everything that might recall the too-recent origins of their power disappear from our sight.

/142 cont./

*634 sometimes, on the other hand, circumstances counsel him,
648 through prudence or ambition, to put his force at the service of the Sultan and to make himself the agent of the Makhzen /makhzan/.

In this last case, having become a kaid in his turn, the Berbère /Berber/ chief meets with the other chiefs of the Makhzen /makhzan/, who have set out from the foot of the mountains or important cols for the conquest of independent or autonomous tribes. Allies or enemies, there they are, henceforth involved in the same intrigues, whatever their origin might be; they argue in the Azaghar over possession of the rich tribes and vie at the "Dar el Makhzen" in order to obtain the favor of the Sultan and his court. Later they will grow still more important and try to direct sherifian policy for their profit.

*634 But at the same time, mixing with the Arab kaids of the
•177 plains, the Berbère /Berber/ kaids of the mountains, sons of the independent amghars of the high valleys, will hasten to forget the recent usages of their tribes that they had kept and will apply themselves in every detail to living and thinking as is done in the cities by the high personages whose friendship they seek or whose position they covet. Thus they will enter still more completely into the tradition of the Empire. As a natural consequence of this spirit of imitation, the exercise of their power tends to become similar to that of the chiefs of regions subject to the Makhzen /makhzan/ for several centuries; the more so as the final ruin of the Berbère /Berber/ institutions has already made the mountain tribes of the Masmouda, formerly so attached to their customs, almost identical in appearance to those of the Gharb /Rharb/ or of the Atlantic plains: disorganized mass of ruined cultivators, bent over their lands, who know their masters only in order to pay the tax to them, and whose sole hope is that of the next rebellion upon the death of the Sultan.

*[631] Doubtless the evolution whose broad features we are indicating here does not proceed everywhere according to the same regular progression; rapid conquests or, on the contrary, obstinate

/142 cont./

*634 *631 177 resistance modify here or there the country's pace of transformation. The geographical situation, bravery in war, or the intelligence of the inhabitants can also change, according to regions, the fate of the tribes. Actually, this small Berbère /Berber/ world does not appear to us in the same aspects in all places. On the contrary, there is no region /143/ that would be more varied, less homogeneous. Thus, in a group of high valleys where the oligarchic regime is preponderant, the assemblies are not all made up in an identical way, the representation of the families is not the same everywhere. Sometimes "the word," the command, is reserved for a few privileged villages; elsewhere we discern the appearance of a little senate, which little by little ousts the heads of the other families and slowly prepares the establishment of personal power. Likewise, when the little states of the summits, formerly independent, live under the protection of an amghar who has established his dominion over several nearby cantons, the chief's authority squares in a variable manner with that of the notables of the country, whom we sometimes see reduced to powerlessness, or, on the contrary, kept along with their "moqaddem," as if they were still valuable auxiliaries for the new master. These frequent differences between the small local constitutions have great importance; it is through them that is best manifested the originality, one might say the personality, of all the small social organisms, whose number, limits, and importance we shall soon indicate. They remind us, moreover, of the living flexibility and the diversity of an evolution that we would be tempted to explain by too-simple laws.

*634 *631 177 642 It remains no less certain that the great political-regime transformations reach at the same time entire regions that evolve toward personal power, unite in resistance, or, on the contrary, succumb in large masses to the pressure of the Makhzen /makhzan/. It is the existence of these general movements that justifies, in spite of local differences, the simplification that we shall try to establish by explaining all the evolution of the Moroccan South by the transition of the republican regime to that of the despotic

*631 /143 cont./
642 amghars, then to that of the great Berbère /Berber/ chiefs of the
[177] mountains, and finally to effective domination by the Makhzen.
[178] In order to study the republican institutions, it will suffice
[2] for us to describe the former state of the western Haut-Atlas
[124] /High Atlas/, calling upon the still-precise memories of the old men and observing the social state that has been preserved in the most secluded mountain valleys; it is in this region, to which one could give the name of "Kabylie du Haut-Atlas" /Kabylia of the High Atlas/, that it will be easiest for us to find again the most highly developed form of Berbère /Berber/ govemment, that of the /144/ assemblies of notables, presided over by a "moqaddem" named for one year. The Sous plain, before its submission to the Makhzen, the Sirwa, the region of the Dadès, of the Todgha and the valleys of the Atlas that descend there offer us analogous examples of oligarchic organization. On the other hand, the region of the Ida Ou Tanan, the mountains of the western Anti-Atlas, with their more egalitarian constitutions, are more attached to a democratic organization. We can then
[121] easily show, by a rapid comparison with other groups of the Jbala, of the Senhaja of Srair, of the Rif, and of the Kabylie /Kabylia/, how the south of Morocco possesses, in spite of present appearances, a profound similarity of structure with the other regions of North Africa peopled by sedentary Berbères /Berbers/ remaining faithful to their secular traditions.

121 It is still the same region of the western Haut-Atlas /High
*631 Atlas/, confined between the Nefis wadi and the Bibaoun pass,
*634 that appears to us to be the most favorable place for examining how the power of the amghars rises in the heart of these small republics. Similar in origin to those who appear in all the other Berbère /Berber/ tribes, we shall see these minor chiefs grow in importance here little by little, by means of the war, while depending on the territorial alliances that take the name of "leff."

Soon the development of the amghars' power will lead us to study the establishment of the regime of the great kaids. The chiefs of Tagontaft present the most perfect picture of this political organization, while those of Telwet and Bouaboud,

/182 cont./

*634 spontaneous organization, but also in a large part of the bled
616 makhzen /region controlled by the central government/ governed
171 by the kaids. Nowhere, however, does this institution show such importance as in the mountains of the Masmouda, between the Bibaoun trail and the col of the Glawa. If one neglected to study it, it would be impossible to understand the conditions in which the evolution of the country proceeded for a century.

121 After having examined the nature of these alliances in the
616 country of the /183/ Masmouda, we shall be able to compare
171 them usefully with the leffs of the Anti-Atlas, with those of the chain of the north of Morocco, in the Rif and the Jbel, and with similar institutions that have been observed for a long time among the sedentary peoples of the Kabylie /Kabylia/ of the Djurjura. Perhaps it will then be possible for us to perceive, in an apparent variety of aspects, the successive stages of the same evolution, and thus to bring new evidence of the unity of social structure of all sedentary Berbérie /Barbary/.

616 In spite of their vitality, the leffs of the Haut-Atlas /High
•177 Atlas/ cannot be studied without grave difficulties. In truth, if
178 they remain nearly intact around high summits, they have been profoundly affected for 50 years by the penetration of the Makhzen /makhzan/ and by the substitution of personal power for the small democracies and conservative oligarchies of former times.

*[634] Just as we often find the boundaries of the cantons and former
[619] "taqbilt" half effaced by the new organization of the tribes, in the vicinity of the plains or in the big towns, so the memory of the leffs is beginning to be lost in all the parts of the mountains subject to the great kaids for two generations. Near the Dir, only
616 a few old men who still know the events of Sidi Mohammed's
177 reign can tell us their exact composition. If we go up toward the
178 summits without penetrating into the dissident regions, only the
124 grown men who took part in the combats of the "siba" of Moulay el Hasan are reliable informants for us, for already the young men, who have grown up in obedience to the Makhzen /makhzan/, clothed in cotton, illuminated by the light of candles, used to the tea and to the improvements of our era, are at the

/183 cont./

616 same time abandoning the old mountain traditions and forgetting
177 the hatreds of their fathers. It is necessary to appeal to the in-
178 habitants of the Tichka valleys still unsubjugated in order to col-
124 lect easily the information that interests us; in these tribes, the children themselves know the allied or hostile "taqbilt" that surround their canton, and for a few years longer, in the territory of the former confederation of the Genfisa, the institution of the leffs keeps the importance it had in former times in all the mountains of the Masmouda.

121 Reconstituting the map of the mountain leffs is, however, a
124 job for great patience. By questioning the old men, we succeed
616 only in discovering the alliances of each "taqbilt," whose politi-
*634 cal horizon never extends beyond the four or /184/ five cantons of the vicinity. It is thus necessary to multiply the inquiries in all the valleys in order to get to know the distribution of the opposed parties in the whole of the great chain. In this research our best informants are, moreover, often the most modest. The chiefs of tribes who know best the invaluable chessboard do not like to unveil what they regard as the secret of their strength and of their weakness; and when by chance they consent to talk about their leff, one perceives that the representation of it that they make to themselves is completely utilitarian and takes into account especially their personal friendships and hates rather than the most reliable traditions.

121 Moreover, in putting together all these partial inquiries, we
*634 sometimes find contradictions whose cause is at first inexplicable.
616 It happens, in fact, that in comparing the results collected in
128 various parts of the country one ascertains that fractions counted here as belonging to the same leff are elsewhere regarded as enemies; the correlation of the various systems of regional alliances that we can discover fails in the whole of the chain. The map that we can establish for these alliances of cantons thus forms a kind of mosaic whose various parts are as if broken and do not fit together exactly. In this case, it is by calling on the history of
[175] the tribes for three generations that one can get to resolve these
ooo difficulties. Having reached this point in the investigation, one

/200 cont./

174 that the social groups that have given their name to the moun-
*634 tain leffs have sometimes been those who, by their magic
619 "baraka," prevailed in decisions or "facilitated" success in
554 war by their simple intervention. At other times, too, with-
616 out doubt it is the most active ones who have prevailed and have drawn the nearby republics into their alliance; they then had, through /map appears here/ /201/ their strength, "the right to speak," and their name would thus have become synonymous with a permanent alliance among all the "taqbilt" that they protected.

174 Truly, in the absence of any precise historical information
616 about the ancient rivalries of the tribes of the Haut-Atlas
619 /High Atlas/, it seems to us impossible for the moment to explain by a single cause the present distribution of the leffs of the Masmouda. Stabilized by centuries of internal wars, in a [178] country screened from exterior influences, the leffs doubtless •[179] have taken their current form under the influence of the most diverse factors; but their current aspect no longer permits discovering their distant origin. Examination and comparison of the territorial alliances among the tribes in the Anti-Atlas, the country of the Jbala and of the Rif or in the Kabylie /Kabylia/ of the Djurjura will permit us to imagine how this state of division could represent the end of a long evolution whose initial cause must doubtless, in the silence of history, remain hidden from us forever.

616 X. Aspect of the leffs of the Anti-Atlas. -- The first Ber-
114 bère /Berber/ leffs that had been studied in Morocco were those of the Anti-Atlas: the "Igezzoulen" and the "Isouktan" pointed out by Ch. de Foucauld. Nevertheless, they still remain quite poorly known. It is not possible, in the absence
*[634] of sufficient monographic studies on the tribes of the Anti-Atlas, to compare these leffs, with all the precision desirable,

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 265]

/219 cont./

623 and intervenes to regulate the use and repair of the séguias; fi-
[185] nally, it often designates minor functionaries remunerated by the
[241] /220/ community for the systematic regulation of irrigation:
[245] these are the ones that are called by the name of "amazzal," or
[624] again the "little inflas," or the "inflas of the water."

623 Sometimes it is the council of the "taqbilt" itself that inter-
627 venes in order to apply to those who act contrary to the crop
681 police the fines called "azzain n igran," fines of the fields. But
[625] most often each "jemaᶜt" of a "moudaᶜ" fixes these penalties as
it likes and collects the fines for its profit without swerving from
[671] a traditional tariff known to all. Moreover, it is in this form of
[177] the "azzain n igran" that the customary law at the heart of the
[632] "moudaᶜ" persists longest, even when the progress of the penetra-
tion of the Makhzen /makhzan/ has led to its disappearance in
the country.

623 Thus, for reasons that are related to the conditions of mate-
184 rial life, the assembly of the "moudaᶜ" often assumes great local
importance. Even in regions like that of the Haha, where the
population is dispersed over the whole territory in isolated houses,
the use of forest pastures, the execution of tasks in common by
mutual assistance contribute toward maintaining the tradition of
623 the "jemaᶜt" councils. Meetings are held when necessary in the
[346] Friday mosque, which is sequestered, like all the houses in this
[361] country, on a solitary hill (1).

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1. It may happen that the organization of the "moudaᶜ" develops on the model of that of the "taqbilt" and that it is then directed by a moqaddem. This is the case in several small
[619] tribes of the Sekssawa (the Ait Haddiyous in particular). This event occurs in a region where the "taqbilt," divided into three thirds, are stronger than elsewhere; one grasps here from life one of the phases of the appearance of new autonomous fractions being formed by simple growth of the "moudaᶜ." One also sees from

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466 The "touiza" is obligatory with regard to the taleb, the
476 moqaddem, or the amghar; except in the case where a beneficiary is without resources, food is offered to the workers by the one who uses them. Inversely, one sees at present in the same
[651] regions subject to the authority of the Makhzen /makhzan/ the
[177] inhabitants of the village furnish to the kaids a number of days of "touiza" regulated by custom or fixed by the chief himself according to his needs. Each one brings his food and must often also contribute toward the maintenance of the kaid's slaves put in charge of the supervision of the work. This institution, which
[178] was originally a work of mutual aid, has become in this way a
[651] source of abuse, and its name is associated in the complaints of the montagnards with that of the "frida," an extraordinary contribution that a representative of the Sultan, kaid or caliphate, levies as often as he can in Berbère /Berber/ country.

* 634 In the independent fractions, it is exceptional that the /248/
652 "taqbilt" treasury is reconstituted by means of extraordinary taxes
[651] or "frida" paid by each household. One-third of the fines paid
[681] by the guilty, reserved for this purpose, most often suffices, and the Berbères /Berbers/ feel profound repugnance toward paying contributions, with which the "Bled el Makhzen" is overburdened.
735 On the other hand, they acquit themselves willingly, either
794 through the medium of the common treasury or directly, of nu-
431 merous traditional tithes paid to the marabouts and the poor. In the Anti-Atlas, where all transactions and the measuring of har-
[465] vests are done at the "agadir," the part for the saints of the country and their descendants, the "igourramen," as well as the salary of the minor functionary charged with watching over the harvests or the collective storehouse, are taken on the spot by the official measurer. The Koranic regulation of taxes is in this way observed in spirit, if not in form, but for the exclusive benefit of the local saints and of the zaouias, which are, as has often been said, an integral part of Berbère /Berber/ society.

[171] Likewise among the tribes of the Jbala of the Habt one sees the shorfa /shurfa/ and the poor benefit from the sum total of the legal alms. The montagnards of the north of Morocco "acquit

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178 More to the East, following the crests of the mountains, in
184 the region of the Nefis and the Glawa, the substitution of the
*[631] limitless despotism of the great chiefs for the old government by assemblies is still more general and takes on the aspect of a veritable social revolution. It is the same in the Sirwa, on the Saharan confines of the Haut-Dra, throughout the region where imgharen /plural of amghar/ more respectful of the old customs, and whom the conquest by the Glawa swept away, formerly existed.

178 The resistance offered by the Anti-Atlas is more energetic.
197 If the Makhzen /makhzan/ succeeded in causing minor chiefs to rise and grow in importance there, especially to the south of Taroudant, nevertheless more efforts were necessary in order to destroy the democratic or oligarchic organization of the cantons dominated by their big agadirs, and to ruin that work of long centuries of independent existence, so perfectly adapted to the conditions of life. But there again, in the large valleys, on the routes of penetration utilized by the Makhzen /makhzan/, and on the whole edge of the Dir, the retreat of the former institutions is noticeable everywhere.

At the same time that the Berbère /Berber/ republics are disappearing and the ruins of the agadirs become more numerous on the summits of the hills, the individuality of the cantons tends to disappear in all the subject regions; the leffs, broken by the political action of the amghars and kaids, disturbed in their unity by the overturning of alliances, lose their meaning and usefulness. New houses of sheiks take the place of the collective storehouses of the tribes; casbahs rise from the ground, and their appearance now makes us believe in the existence of a powerful feudal organization. Everywhere the domination of the chiefs of the Makhzen /makhzan/ is established in haste, as if to consolidate its fragile conquest.

178 /264/ No spectacle is more instructive than that of the Berbère /Berber/ villages in the regions passing so abruptly from the patriarchal government of the assemblies to the despotic authority of the chiefs. The aspect of the houses and fortresses alone is

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*634 642 178 councils and magistrates. But among the first, only two personages, friends of the amghar, assume in turn the function of moqaddem. Among the second, the Aït arbaᶜin, whose number has been reduced, and the moqaddem still exist, /282/ but they are no longer changed each year as ancient tradition requires.

Another amghar of the vicinity, Aqqai, who seized power among the Ichkajen, in the tribe of the Ida Ou Mhamoud, only a few years ago, suppressed the moqaddem in his command, but kept the Aït arbaᶜin, who have become his agents of execution and information. They collect for him the "ᶜachour" and the supplementary taxes with which he sends presents to his protector, the amghar Ahmed ou Moulid of the "taqbilt" of the Aït Haddiyous at the summit of the mountain of the Seksawa.

The nearby canton of the Aït Tounert, placed under the influence of the chief of the Aït Haddiyous, has kept, at least in appearance, the former government; but here the protective amghar must sanction the election of the moqaddem designated each year by the council. The Aït arbaᶜin themselves change frequently and are chosen by Ahmed ou Moulid, in agreement with the moqaddem (1).

1. Notes of F. de La Chapelle.

One sees in this way, by a rather slow transformation of the ancient Berbère /Berber/ organization, the oligarchic regime of the high valleys adapt itself little by little to the government of the independent amghars. The most powerful among these chiefs impose their protectorate over other, more recent amghars, who try, because of their very weakness, to treat the traditions with respect. The concern for preserving the strength of the bonds of alliance intact also spurs the protective amghar to respect the customs within his leff; above all, he avoids creating, by overly energetic action, the struggles of soffs that would bring about scissions.

•[177] [616] When the power of chiefs develops in a region already subject to the influence of the Makhzen /makhzan/, where the

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/282 cont./ institution of councils of inflas and of moqaddems has already disappeared, the policy of the amghar is obviously simplified; it suffices for him to protect the minor sheiks who belong to his leff, without intervening within the cantons already used to despotic power. The amghar Mohammed of Tagontaft did this among the Aït Iraten, at the time when he had undertaken to drive the "Aït Atman" from the valley of the Nefis. The amghars of Talemt, chiefs of the leff of the "Aït Zolit," whose role on the south versant of the Atlas we have seen, /283/ also dominated, without doing away with them, the minor sheiks of Taberbourt, of the Aït Oumzal, and of the Onein, who were both their allies and their subjects. The feeling of leff solidarity here outweighed the personal ambition of the amghar, whose first desire is usually to increase his direct command in order to augment his resources. But all moderation disappears when the chief succeeds in conquering a canton of the adverse leff. He then puts at its head an amghar without local authority, to whom he entrusts a single mission: to watch over the collection of ceaselessly heavier taxes and to make the defeated enemies rapidly disappear.

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One would look in vain at this first stage of the amghar's power for an original feature in the organization of his command that could be regarded as the rough outline of a new political organization. This is because the authority of the new chief, which is still exercised in a very reduced domain, does not need intermediaries; in order to become strong, it borrows traditional forms all prepared and adapts with flexibility, as we have seen, to existing traditions.

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We scarcely see sometimes appearing near the amghar some war comrades, who have come from the outside and who form a kind of personal guard. Most often, however, his "ikhs" suffices for him to constitute this force; outsiders are often accepted with difficulty, their presence gives the amghar who surrounds himself with them too much the air of a gang leader, and the tribe would badly suffer their excesses.

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We are not acquainted with any amghar who has a prison. This is because in all circumstances the chief is still inspired,

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175 groves were at the mercy of the horsemen sent from Marrakech.
*634 After a year of useless skirmishes, the Grawi succeeded in getting
648 into the rebel's band two reliable slaves, who assassinated him at Wadaker, with the complicity of the sheik Jorran. The two traitors received 1,400 douros, and the head of Ou ben ᶜAli was exhibited in Marrakech.

At Tisgin people have kept a living memory of this minor chief, remarkable for his courage and energy, perhaps equal to his fortunate rival of Tagontaft, but whose enterprise was doomed to failure in advance, because his village was too exposed to the blows of the Makhzen /makhzan/.

175 The reverse example of the amghar ᶜAli Ou Hammo of the
*631 Ida ou Zal on the south versant of the Atlas, to the northwest of
*634 Taroudant, is no less suggestive.

Formerly this tribe, like those of the vicinity, was under the double regime of amghars and assemblies. The mountain cantons were governed by councils of Aït arbaᶜin and moqaddems, while at the foot of the Dir, at Tamda and Mneizla, two minor chiefs, intermittently in communication with the Makhzen /makhzan/ of Taroudant, carried out an action on their independent brothers comparable to that of the amghars of Talemt and Talekjont.

• [177] But, while most of the tribes in the vicinity have found themselves mixed up in the politics of the great kaids or subject to the operation of the Makhzen /makhzan/ of Taroudant for 20 years, the Ida Ou Zal, thanks to their geographic situation, have escaped that pressure and remained free to organize themselves
175 to their liking. The last ten years of independence were im-
*634 mediately utilized by a young chief without scruples. ᶜAli Ou Hammo, of the village of Lemmwé, was only a route cutter 15 years ago, and his first success was to manage to rob, in 1913, the German advisers of the kaid Kabba of Taroudant, adventurer in the service of El Hiba. Little by little, by pillaging neighbors, by protecting his friends and /288/ brothers, he succeeded in increasing his resources and forming a party for himself. In our day, in the cantons that he holds in close dependence on him, ᶜAli Ou Hammo has kept the Aït arbaᶜin and the moqaddems,

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175 *634 but has made them his creatures. Willy-nilly, the plain has had to accept his authority. This former thief is respected because he has made his fortune and is a man of his word. He holds the col of Ferqelma and the Tizi n Tgodicht and gains in this way, in a region where the passing of caravans is the principal source of wealth, a ceaselessly growing authority. All eyes are turned toward him in order to try to escape the feared conquest by the Mtougga. He now aspires to become a makhzen /makhzan/ chief, on condition that his position as amghar be recognized. [177] Placed with respect to Taroudant in a geographic situation analogous to the one that the amghar Ou ben ᶜAli had with regard to Marrakech, having started out still lower, ᶜAli Ou Hammo was exceptionally able to succeed because he had the good luck, during ten years of liberty, to act as he liked in a country still screened from the direct authority of the Sultan.

*634 X. The minor chiefs of the Ida Ou Tanan. -- The appearance of amghars is not limited to the narrow region of the Atlas included between the Tizi Maᶜcho and the Tizi n Telwet, or in the country of the Sirwa, in that part of the mountains where the alliances of leffs between small autonomous "taqbilt" existed not long ago in a particularly stable form. One likewise observes it [171] [184] in the other tribes of the south of Morocco, the same as in the Rif and in Kabylie /Kabylia/. Although these other minor chiefs are not called to so brilliant a career as that of their rivals of the high valleys of the Tichka, of the Nefis, or of Telwet, the conditions in which their power is born are identical with the ones that we have just studied; it will be easy for us to show that they, too, arise out of the quarrel of the soffs, grow more important through the war of the cantons, and at every point in the development of their policy follow the same rules that are imposed upon the amghars of the country of the Masmouda.

The examples that are offered us by the minor chiefs of the Ida Ou Tanan are all the more interesting to examine because this country lived in isolation in the nineteenth century, apart

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*631 131 XI. The minor chiefs of the oases of the South. -- One might be tempted to regard the minor chiefs of the desert oases that exist on the south versant of the Anti-Atlas, in the Moyen-Dra /Middle Dra/ and the Dadès, at the boundary of the country inhabited by the sedentary Berbères /Berbers/ of the mountains of the Sous, as amghars similar to the ones whose appearance and first successes we have just studied here.

*631 642 It seems, however, that in this region other influences are being exerted, of a quite different nature, which favor the establishment and consolidation of that "despotic power" described so well by de Foucauld (2).

2. De Foucauld, Reconnaissance, pp. 111, 127, 128, 131, 145.

*631 *634 • 179 The social milieu, in fact, appears to be more propitious for the persistence of large families in the vicinity of the Sahara. Among the Zenaga, the Ida Ou Blal, the ʿAït Amer, the Mesgita, where small dynasties of amghars have been firmly established for long generations, Arab influences are numerous, and the hereditary transmission of command is one of the most constant characteristics of the social organization of the nomad groups (3).

3. G. Marçais, Les Arabes en Berbérie /The Arabs in Barbary/, pp. 704, 705.

613 554 675 Besides, there exist in these regions other institutions whose role easily explains the importance assumed by the heads of the "ikhs," powerful and brave: individual protection and vassalage. Near the desert the necessities of trade and travel in fact lead to the conclusion of pacts with notables capable of having the life and property of foreigners respected; these are true contracts, to which the name of "debiha" is given, and the power of a sheik is measured by the number of "debiha" that he possesses, whether he has accepted them directly or inherited them.

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121 the plains no longer appears in a precise manner. Henceforth the
178 independence of old is all over. The traditional organization in the Dir of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ is no more than a memory in our day, while it is prolonged by mere survivals in the region of the summits.

*631 We shall now see the central government intervene in a
648 more and more direct fashion in the life of the Sous. The pasha of the Marrakech casbah, the autochthonous or foreign kaids, changed and recalled according to the ruler's whims, have become masters of the country; to make themselves obeyed, they have the forces of their slaves, of the Arab "gich," or of the harkas, and intervene without circumspection, in order to make the taxes come in and to repress revolts. Such is the hard reality with which the last reactions of the formerly autonomous communities of the South of Morocco clash.

128 It remains for us to describe in the pages that follow the form
648 of the new power and to show what its means of action, its habi-
•177 tudes, and its traditions are in the political role that it is hence-
178 forth going to play in the tribes. It goes without saying that we shall not try /366/ to redo one more time the tableau of the former Makhzen /makhzan/, with its picturesque and out-of-date court, its palace intrigues, the abuses that it maintained, the skillful disorder in which it kept Morocco in order to use it better for its own ends, through the revolts and internal crises that ended up by ruining the Sherifian Empire. The travelers who crossed the country before the establishment of the Protectorate, Foucauld, Segonzac, and especially Erckmann, have given a painting of the old government of the shorfa /shurfa/ so faithful that is useless to try to fill it in. Here we shall only try to tell what the action of the Makhzen has been on the Berbère /Berber/ tribes of the South of Morocco and how it has finished modifying the social condition of the populations of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ and of the interior plain of the Sous and of the Anti-Atlas.

000 I. The Sultan and his court. -- The name of the central government, the "Makhzen," magazine /Fr. magasin/, indicates by its very etymology the idea of an institution fashioned above

648 /377/ The role of the "oumana" chosen by the sultan from
*631 among the notables of the country is to see to the proper collec-
651 tion of the taxes and administer the possessions of the Makhzen /makhzan/, which come from all the lands confiscated from the former kaids. Among the Haha, upon the death of El Hajj ᶜAbdallah ou Bihi, all the fields that he had had cleared in the whole country, his horses, mules, and flocks were taken on account by "oumana" settled permanently on all the territory of the confederation. These functionaries who collected the "mouna" in the "storehouses of the ᶜAchour" in Mogador, where the products of the taxes in kind were gathered together, received, moreover, from the tribes all their equipment. They did not have the right to claim for their personal account the benefit of the "touiza," reserved for the kaids. Moreover, their duty was to point out to the sultan all the exactions and all the abuses that they could discern. In reality, an agreement was quickly established between them and the chiefs whom they had to watch, and the fate of the tribes subject to the Makhzen was not at all ameliorated by them.

648 V. The new fractioning of the subjugated tribes. -- What
619 characterizes the new organization of the tribes definitively re-
•177 duced to servitude is not only their submission to a kaid placed
*634 in close dependence in relation to the sultan, it is above all the
*631 existence of a new mode of fractioning conceived in a manner different from the former natural division of the Berbère /Berber/ groups. In former times the unit was a canton, independent former "taqbilt" made up of a certain number of "mouda ᶜ" or of "jemaᶜa," with nearly constant dimensions. At present the tribes are arbitrarily divided into thirds, quarters, fifths, or still smaller units that no longer have any function other than to facilitate the dividing up of the taxes and whose limits arbitrarily overlap the frontiers of the cantons of old (1).

1. One can give as an example the Ouzgita of the Jebel Kik cut into three fractions: the Aït Wasif, including the villages of the banks

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/footnote 1 continued/ of the Nefis wadi, the Immighern, settled at Agergour and on the mountain of Kik, Dou Ighris with the valleys of the Imarighen and Wirgan. Each of these units is divided into six "quarters." The Mzouda are made up of ten units having the name of "mia," "hundreds." The Nfiffa, formerly constituted by six cantons, have seen their divisions entirely remodeled and are made up of five fifths: Imi n Tanout includes two of them, Asif el Bour has two others, Amesnez forms the last: in this tribe, the new fractioning by the Makhzen /makhzan/ has even caused the idea of leff, formerly very much alive, to disappear.

Sometimes, too, the ancient cantons exist, but, according to /378/ need, they are united with other entirely different groups located a day away, in order to complete the number of taxable households so as to form a new artificial unit, the "makhzen tribe," whose utility is purely fiscal (1).

1. The valley of the Asif el Mal thus formerly formed a tribe divided into four parts: the Ind Maghous formed the first quarter, Tigider the second, Taskourt, the Aït Tabgao, and Iberdaten the third, Anedbour, Zilaout, Imi Wasif the fourth. Since this command appeared too small to furnish the taxes of a "makhzen tribe," the little group of the Dnassa situated in the Dir to the east of Amismiz, about 40 kilometers away, was later added to it so as to form a "makhzen tribe." Likewise, among the Mtougga, we also see Tednest situated in the plain attached artificially to the khoms of

/378 cont./

/footnote 1 continued/ the Ida Ou Nifi a day's march away in the mountains.

Compare Trenga, "Les Branès," Archives berbères, Vol. I, Part 4, p. 318.

Another manner of dividing the tribes, still more artificial, consists of grouping the different hearths by groups of ten in order to constitute what was called a "makhzen kanoun," a tax unit that was to furnish contributions in kind upon the passage of the harkas (2).

2. At the Touat, among the Chauwya of Morocco, the unit is the "diffa," so named because it designates a group of inhabitants charged with furnishing a "diffa" to the army of the Makhzen /makhzan/ when it passes through the country (A. C. P. Martin, Quatre siècles d'histoire marocaine /Four Centuries of Moroccan History/, pp. 32, 60, 115, 437). We have found in the high valleys of the Nefis the "aserdoun" -- mule -- because the annual contribution of this unit was a mule offered to the sultan or to the kaid.

While in the poorly subjugated regions the new divisions established by the Makhzen /makhzan/ are still confounded with the social units of former times and consequently have been capable of reconstituting their council of Aît Arbaʿin in times of "siba," the parts most directly affected by the political transformation no longer have anything but "khoms" without an assembly, "mia" or "toulout" without political personality. We have told how under these conditions the only natural unit that still existed was the simple "jemaʿa" of a village or of a group of hamlets grouped around its mosque and continuing to apply obstinately the customary petty rules of agricultural life, sanctioned by

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modest fines, the "azzainnigran" (3).

3. One can thus compare the south of the Haha, little affected by the Makhzen penetration, whose tribes are divided into "khoms," veritable political units, and the north of the same country, whose khoms are no more than divisions established in view of the tax (cf. above, Book II, Ch. II, p. 199) and Doutté, "Organisation sociale et domestique des Haha /Social and Domestic Organization of the Haha/," Bulletin de l'Afrique française, 1905, rens. coloniaux /colonial information/, p. 11.

In the whole of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ it is thus possible to follow the progressive decline of the ancient social units, all the more apparent in proportion as the operation of the Makhzen /makhzan/ is intensified. The establishment of the new fractioning contributes toward effacing the division into leffs, diminishes the authority of most of the sheiks, who have become mere agents for the transmission of orders in /379/ the hands of the kaid; finally, the councils of notables and the "jemaᶜa" play a role incessantly more effaced in the administration of the country and give way to the kaid.

VI. A great kaid in the service of the Makhzen. -- Such are the principal aspects of the policy and organization of the Makhzen /makhzan/ in its relations with the Berbère /Berber/ tribes of the South of Morocco. A heavy machine that crushes the country and gets rid of the last traditions that the autochthonous chiefs had respected, erases the boundaries of the cantons, the memory of ancient alliances, and soon leaves no more confronting the sultan than an anonymous crowd of subjects whose sole role is to pay the tax.

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Nevertheless, it sometimes happens under the sultan's domination that one sees personal power reconstituted, that a clever and enterprising kaid, putting his ambitions at the service of the Makhzen, succeeds in obtaining a large command in Berbère /Berber/ country, so that he appears to us, at a distance, with the same features as the semi-independent chiefs of the mountains. But if one wishes to examine carefully the conditions under which his power was developed and exercised, one perceives how much the forces on which he depends have changed; less solidly built on the base of a canton or tribe, less well supported by leff alliances, without a durable foundation in the country, his power remains precarious and rests above all on the confidence and support of the sovereign. If the latter withdraws his favor, the great makhzen kaid disappears into the void.

The example of the career of El Hajj ᶜAbdallah Ou Bihi, a great chief who in the middle of the last century, in the country of the Haha, had a prestige comparable to the lords of the Glawa, will suffice to make us understand how much the power of such a kaid is contrary, by numerous traits, to that of the masters of the mountain tribes.

ᶜAbdallah Ou Bihi appears about 1844. His family has been in the service of the Makhzen for 60 years; already settled at Mogador, it commands from afar the country of the Haha under the supervision of the governor of the town. Abdallah himself is the son of a black slave, and tradition relates the strange fact that his mother was given pregnant to the kaid of the Haha by Sultan Moulay Sliman, which leaves hovering over his true origins a complete mystery, which legend has seized.

/380/ After difficult beginnings and discords with the minor kaid of the Mtougga, whom the sultan has thrown into prison, ᶜAbdallah Ou Bihi undertakes to subjugate the tribes of his command in revolt since the bombardment of Mogador by the French fleet and cursed by Moulay ᶜAbd er Rahman. At this period in the country of the Haha one no longer finds stable leffs constituted by traditional alliances, in the manner of those of the Nefis or of the country of the Glawa, but only fragile associations of "khoms" or

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178 The Berbère /Berber/ republics purchase this right to enter
*631 into a large state by still other sacrifices. In former times the
726 internal wars, through the play of balanced alliances, en-
648 gaged only hundreds of warriors armed with bad guns on the frontiers of these small cantons; henceforth, having come to the border of subjugated country, the tribe stands the shock of considerable masses of combatants, Arabs from the "gich" of the plains in the service of the Makhzen /makhzan/, Berbères /Berbers/ enslaved by entire confederations, innumerable contingents of the great kaids. When these harkas penetrate into the territory, no resistance is possible; in a few hours all the villages, the secular agadirs themselves are destroyed. Now entered on the list of the "naiba" tribes, the little state whose life formerly flowed on in a mountain cirque also participates in distant expeditions. The warriors will go tomorrow to re-establish a kaid in the Dra or to
• [177] fight a rogui /one who aspires to overthrow the sultan/ north of Fès; during these travels they will learn of laws other than the ones of their village and will come back impressed by Arab influences, city habits unknown up to then.

177 But above all, conquest by the Makhzen /makhzan/ sanctions
648 the definitive ruin of the "ᶜorf," the Berbère /Berber/ law. For
671 long centuries custom was tractable in order to become conformable with the essential rules of the religious law. In this country, which has seen so many reformers of Islam, scholars, and jurists
[179] arise, a slow penetration of the principles of the "chraᶜ" /sharᶜ, Sharia, Islamic law/ continued imperceptibly in order to eliminate, in the tribal law, the arrangements opposed to those of the holy book (1).

1. One would scarcely find -- except in what concerns the "rehania" -- the antichresis -- a few rules opposed to the chraᶜ /sharᶜ/ in the collections of customary law of the tribes of the Sous and of the Anti-Atlas.

Soon the "ᶜorf" comes to be limited to the repression of crimes

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• 177 648 671 and offenses and to regulating the political life of the canton. At the same time the part of the "chraᶜ" /sharᶜ/ grows unceasingly; it embraces the status of persons and soon extends to property litigation.

177 648 671 It is most often at this moment that the political penetration of the Makhzen /makhzan/ is achieved. The "louh" of the tribes, the venerable collection of their customs, entrusted up to now to the care of the moqaddem or Aït Arbaᶜin, falls into the hands of * 631 the amghar, of the sheik of the canton, /390/ or of the kaid of * 634 the tribe. Henceforth it is a man whose power has no limits other than his strength who is in charge of ordering and forbidding. Of what importance to him are the ancient rules established by assemblies, the very memory of which is an offense to his power? [681] Besides, is it not better, in punishing the guilty, to set fines that take their resources into account? A well-to-do man will pay a large sum to get out of prison; a poor man will at the very least [693] be able to sell his field. As for the surplus, the cadi, faithful to the new master, will under all circumstances know how to judge according to the interests of the Makhzen /makhzan/.

Thus the Berbère /Berber/ institutions succumb one after another. Two forces unite against them, that of the chiefs and that of the sherifian Makhzen. One originated in the mountains themselves: amghars, chiefs of a canton, of a leff, or of a tribe, semi-independent kaids whose casbahs rise near the summits, assert their will, always more powerful and more absolute, to enslave the small republics for their personal ends and to transform the formerly free men into docile and resigned subjects. The other power comes from heaven, since it is from God that the sovereign derives his throne and his principles of government, when the Mussulmans recognized him as supreme leader; but, in reality, this theocracy is only the association of material interests and devouring ambitions by which the activity of the functionaries of the Makhzen /makhzan/ is explained. Neither de facto nor de jure can the Berbère /Berber/ institutions find any place in this government. The first principle of this absolute monarchy is that of the most complete submission of the inferior to the superior.

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*631 Just as the sultan is in the hands of Allah, the kaids are the slaves
648 of the sovereign, and the subjects the humble servants of the kaids.
•177 Moreover, there can exist in the Empire only one single State,
178 only a single Islamic community, of which the sherif is the
*634 leader. The independent mountain republics are for the Makhzen only errors of corrupt men, creations that by strict right cannot claim any law: nothingness engendered by ignorance.

Equally bent on destroying Berbérie /Barbary/, the temporal power of the chiefs and the divine right of the sultans are able to join and unite. Often, as we have said, it is the amghar, master
[616] of a leff established at the foot of the Dir, who enters the service
[619] of the Makhzen /makhzan/ of the plain; /391/ at other times it is a tribal chief in the mountains who receives the title of kaid; the lords of the Atlas themselves, whose conquests are made in the name of the sultan, govern according to the traditional principles of the sherifian State to the point where in our day it is into the parts of their territories remaining free of our control that one must go to observe the anachronism of the last tribes living under the regime of the Makhzen of former times.

Sometimes, it is true, these two powers of domination come to fight each other for a time, as we have seen in the country of the amghar of Tagontaft in the valley of the Nefis, but it is in order to unite better afterwards their wishes for exploitation and
[642] their desires for conquest. The goal, often unconscious, of the
[185] efforts of the chiefs and of the sultan is to achieve on the ruins of the Berbère /Berber/ cantons the founding of an absolute Empire, without internal frontiers, subject to a single law and one that condemns the subjects to submit to a ruinous and pitiless tyranny.

It is difficult, when one measures the futility of the results obtained by the Makhzen and the amghars during ten centuries of fighting, to escape from a feeling of pity with regard to these people reduced to a servitude without ideals, in misery without hope, and who no longer look for any remedy for their ills other than an impotent and fleeting return to the anarchy of old. /Page 392 is blank./

/416 cont./

648 In the land of the amghars of the Seksawa, one already sees being
[178] held, by means of the new peace, assemblies of notables who are trying, under France's authority, to revive what can be saved of the former tribal law.

000 We shall not discuss again here the violence of the forces of resistance that the European penetration has caused to rise in the Rif; doubtless the spirit of holy war, remaining so tenacious in the north of Morocco, more than a true feeling of patriotism, aroused the rebellion led by ʿAbd el Kerim; but it is certain that the Berbère /Berber/ energies usually spent in village quarrels were assembled at one stroke, oriented toward the same end; so that we were able to measure their fearsome strength. By observing the commotion propagated by this movement in all the dissident or subject mountain regions from the central Atlas to the Tafilelt and from the western Atlas to the Sous plains, it was possible for us at the same time to perceive the destructive power that was preserved by the dream of independence and of "siba" in which the tribes seek, spontaneously and by a kind of instinct, the remedy for their ills.

648 Berbèrie /Barbary/ moreover gives us other evidence, more
• 179 peaceful or more humble, but no less obvious, of the inner life
166 that continues to quicken it. Thus the so tenacious strength of
*634 that mysterious tie by which the inhabitants of the same canton, of the same tribe are united does not appear to be at all diminished up to the present by the new conditions of existence that the French peace brought to the Sous. The populations of the Dir, for example, formerly concentrated in their fortified villages of the last slopes of the Atlas, at present colonize the large plains /417/ that stretch at their feet. But the inhabitants who thus leave the mountains do not settle at random and in confusion in the "Azaghar." Most often we see them unite again in villages that are the colonies founded by the fractions of the Dir; consequently the plains tribe is arranged in the likeness of the one that was settled for a long time in the Atlas.

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11 (ca. 1900)

IV. TRADITIONAL RURAL SOCIAL STRUCTURE

(P.44)

Structurally, the Berber and Arabic-speaking core-areas of rural Morocco hold many features in common. Both areas are characterized by tribal units; both have kinship groupings defined by common descent in the male line; both have a patriarchy, and residence of a married couple with the husband's family; both customarily reside in villages if they are sedentary, or in nomadic camps if they engage in the care of flocks and herds. Both regions profess the same religion, and have similar religious institutions, associations, and beliefs. The outstanding differences between the Berbers and the Arabic-speaking peoples reside in those social institutions having a political nature, and in the legal systems. In these there is an almost continuous gradiation from the independent and decentralized Berber republics, through semi-Arabized and Arabized-Berber tribes, to the Bedouin *guich* tribes who were formerly completely involved in supporting an absolute and highly centralized government.

The traditional independence of the Berbers of the *Bled es Siba*, and the social pattern associated with it, survived until very recently, for the last independent tribes accepted government authority only in 1935. Berber independence in legal matters still continues, for, although the *dahir Berbere* (the French decree of 1930 giving Berber customary law equal status with Moslem law) was repealed in 1956, customary law still continues to determine legal process. In other matters the ancient trend towards Arabization continues and has been slightly accelerated, with groups demonstrating every degree of transition from their traditional pattern to that of the Arabic-speakers of the plains.

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11 (ca. 1900)

as the *'adat* or *'urf*, the distinction between these two words being somewhat confused. Customary law is consulted in all civil cases (such as disputes regarding terrain, water rights, inheritance, etc.), and in minor criminal matters – the customary law having been replaced by a French-sponsored penal code in most aspects of criminal law since the establishment of the Protectorate. This customary law is established and revised by the local representative councils of each region; it may be administered either by them or by a designated arbiter (*annezzarfou*), this arbiter being required to have a great knowledge of the local law, and to be an intelligent and experienced man highly regarded by all. If possible, he should be a stranger to the group involved, or else divorced from its mundane affairs by virtue of being a holy man (Johns Hopkins University, 1956, pp. 231-232; Loubignac, 1942, p. 281).

The most important aspects of the *azrif* are water rights and (formerly) penal crimes such as theft, abduction of women, adultery, wounds, blows, and murder. Water rights are still carefully regulated by the *'urf* or customary law of each group. Among the Beni Uriaguel (99), for example, the *qanuns* or edicts of customary law dealing with irrigation carefully take into account the nature of flow in different rivers. Thus, on the Lower Rhis, in the Plain of Alhucemas, where the flow is constant but not altogether sufficient, the *qanuns* state that any man who purchases land must buy his irrigation turn independently. In the case of the Nekor River which is extremely erratic, the *qanuns* provide that the purchaser of land is automatically entitled to irrigation water, because most of the year there is sufficient quantity for all. Throughout the Berber areas litigation regarding water rights is kept at a minimum through the existence of water administrators (known as *amazzal*, pl. *imazzalen*, among the Shluh) who distribute the irrigation water in accordance with the recognized rights (Hart, 1954, pp. 56-57).

In its application to criminal acts the Berber *azrif* was characterized by great dependence upon oaths and upon the imposition of fines. This first feature (oaths) was the principal reason for the Berber court usually meeting in a mosque or at a market with an associated shrine, for in all cases the litigants swear by something to give efficacy to their oaths, and this is generally something which has